When affixes cannot surface

Among 14 Czech nominal declensional paradigms, only the *dělání* paradigm shows consonant-initial case markers. All other paradigms display vowel-initial markers which are made up of distinct single vowels or vowels followed by the same consonants as in the *dělání* paradigm (1). The aim of this paper is to provide a plausible explanation of this asymmetry.

The presented analysis is built on the assumption that the *-í* which appears in the *dělání* paradigm is not a case marker itself (as is traditionally assumed; see (2a)). Provided that the *í* is a case marker, the *dělání* paradigm would show massive syncretism which is unprecedented in other paradigms. In this case 12 paradigm slots (i.e. 6 cases x 2 numbers) receive only four phonologically different markers: *-í, -ím, -ích, -ími*. Also, the syncretism predicted by (2a) is highly suspicious: (2a) assumes that the LocSg and NomSg are syncretic as well as the GenPl and NomPl. However, these types of case syncretism are not attested anywhere in the declension.

Following the CVCV model of Scheer (2004), I assume (i) the existence of final empty Nuclei, and (ii) the fact that the short vowel of vowel-initial case markers is a lexically floating segment. I show that on these assumptions, the morphologically irregular non-realization of vowels of vowel-initial case markers in the *dělání* paradigm follows from its phonological properties. I claim that this paradigm has the same morphological structure as all other paradigms, i.e. it includes vowel-initial markers with at least three distinct vowels (2b), and it is derived by the same phonology as all other paradigms as well. What makes it special is the fact that its stems are vowel-final (they are derived by the suffix *-í*) and the regular phonology prevents the vowels of vowel-initial case markers from surfacing.

Czech (as other Slavic languages) features vowel-zero alternations. In CVCV, the distribution of alternants is controlled by Government: (i) alternation sites remain phonetically unrealized under Government, (ii) only full, but not empty Nuclei govern. If there is an e~ø alternation between the stem-final consonants, all vowel-initial markers behave alike: they produce a zero alternant in the stem; e.g. kot**ø**l-ů ‘boiler, GenPl‘, kot**ø**l-em ‘NomSg’. By contrast, the merger of a zero marker always leads to the vocalisation; e.g. kot**e**l-Ø ‘Nom/AccSg’. It follows that any marker-initial vowel associates to the final empty Nucleus of the stem and governs the preceding alternation site (3).

The floating scenario, which is enforced by the assumptions of the specific phonological theory at hand, and the fact that any vowel-initial case marker, short and long alike, triggers zero alternants, receives support from the strange behaviour of the *dělání* paradigm as well. In the lexicon, marker-initial short vowels are floating segments that lack any syllabic support (4a). In order to be pronounced, they need an empty Nucleus onto which they can link. Marker-initial long vowels are lexically associated to a Nucleus and specified to spread to their left (4b). In order to do so, they need an empty Nucleus to their left hence the vowel of vowel-initial case markers can only be realized if it is concatenated to a stem that ends in an empty Nucleus.

In the *dělání* paradigm, affix-initial vowels cannot be pronounced because the stem is vowel-final: it ends in the suffix *-í*. No empty Nucleus it is available that could receive case-marking floating segment. Hence affixes containing only vowels are not pronounced at all. Compound affixes with both lexically floating and associated melody, e.g. InsSg *-em* can realize only the latter (6).

(1) Paradigm *dělání* vs other neuter paradigms

	SG			PL		
Nom/Acc	dělání	moř-e	měst-o	dělání	moř-e	měst-a
Gen	dělání	moř-e	měst-a	dělání	moř-í	měst-Ø
Dat	dělání	moř-i	měst-u	dělání-m	moř-ím	měst-ům
Loc	dělání	moř-i	měst-u/ě	dělání-ch	moř-ích	měst-ech/ích/ách
Ins	dělání-m	moř-em	měst-em	dělání-mi	moř-i	měst-y

(2) a. Paradigm *dělání*: traditional analysis

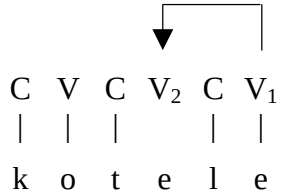
	SG	PL
Nom/Acc	dělán-í	dělán-í
Gen	dělán-í	dělán-í
Dat	dělán-í	dělán-ím
Loc	dělán-í	dělán-ích
Ins	dělán-ím	dělán-ími

b. Paradigm *dělání*: new analysis

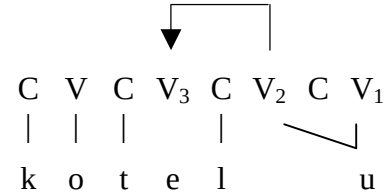
	SG	PL
Nom/Acc	dělání-V_1	dělání-V_1
Gen	dělání-V_1	dělání-V_3
Dat	dělání-V_2	dělání-V_3m
Loc	dělání-V_2	dělání-V_3ch
Ins	dělání-V_1m	dělání-V_1mi

(3) Derivation of e ~ ø alternants: √KOTØL "boiler"

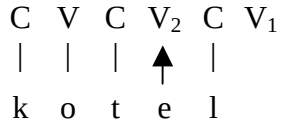
a. kot**ø**l-e GenSg



b. kot**ø**l-ů GenPl

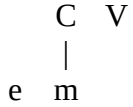


c. kot**e**l-Ø NomSg



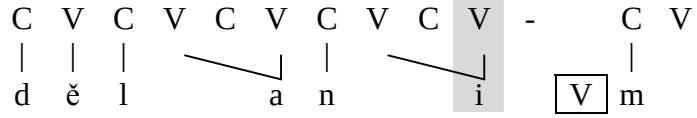
(4) Lexical representation of marker-initial short and marker-initial long vowels

a. -em [InsSg]



b. -ím [DatPl]

(5) Floating vowels fail to be pronounced: dělání-Vm [InsSg]



References

Scheer, Tobias. 2004. *A Lateral Theory of Phonology*. Vol.1: What is CVCV, and why should it be? Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.